

clearly: Where do we go from here? What next? I think from the general feel of things, the atmosphere that I found in Belgrade, the sort of sotto voce conversations I had with various people there and from what we read in the New York Times and the Washington Post this morning, something is happening, something is about to happen. You won't have all of this flurry of activity without something coming out of it. What it will be is yet to be seen.

Our talks in Belgrade, beyond those of just getting the soldiers released, were a worthy mission in itself, though some people criticized us very severely for trying and told us quite confidently that we'd never succeed. Well, we did succeed. They told us it was risky and our lives would be in danger, the U.S. government could do nothing to protect us. OK, we said "fine." We went there, we came back. But we had the opportunity to explore ideas among people within the leadership of this Milosevic government. We sampled public opinion from talking to a variety of people there, and I simply want to share with you a few of those impressions.

Trying to read Mr. Milosevic's mind is an arcane kind of skill that I think none of us have or are likely to acquire. But he's not a stupid man. He's a highly intelligent man, he's a highly manipulative man, and he's done terrible things and is capable of doing more terrible things. But it is perfectly clear that there is going to be a willingness on his part to move towards something very close to what NATO is demanding of him, specifically, he is prepared to agree to the return of all the refugees whom he's driven out. That's going to be a difficult, costly task to carry out. He's going to agree to the return of the relief and development agencies who also were withdrawn from Kosovo, and he'll agree to free access for them to do their job. He wants very much and will certainly agree to a resumption of negotiations on an autonomy agreement. The nature of autonomy he would agree to is of course not totally clear; he does want to make sure that Kosovo would remain within Serbia. That's one of his central demands. Whether he would settle for it simply being a republic within Yugoslavia, I don't know, but that's one of the other options. He will resist tenaciously the idea of an independent Kosovo, and quite honestly, I think we should too. I think that would be a terribly disturbing, destabilizing outcome of this conflict.

The big sticking points are these: the withdrawal of Serb troops, police forces and special groups from this terrible activities in Kosovo. He knows he will have to withdraw. He will try tenaciously to keep some presence there. He will insist that we've got to have some Serb police as part of this peacekeeping force. And he will have a certain logic to that. But how do you constrain them, control them, I don't know. That's one of the issues. He's going to be very tough in bargaining about total or substantial withdrawal. He's going to fight for some presence to be maintained there.

The other thing is, of course, the composition of the international peace keeping police service (whatever you call it, semantics do have some place) he wants some kind of fig leaf to cover him. So, that will be one of the things that will be a stumbling block. But I think in the end he will agree to a multinational, armed policing service. Probably he would like, of course, it not to carry the NATO flag and label, but he knows it will have to have a substantial NATO component within it. He will be of course very cagey in how he finalizes his commitments, and he will hope that he will be able to remain in power and be a party to the signing of whatever agreement is finally made. I think that we need to step up our negotiating efforts

and indeed I think they are in fact taking place.

One of the things that bothers me is the fear that a lot of the American public, the American media, some members of the Congress in both parties, will be amused with this need to show how tough and strong we are, and how we must not weaken and we must not give in. We must be careful that we don't be made to seem like fools manipulated by this evil man. We are in danger of taking counsel of our fears instead of mounting courage of our convictions and our hopes for a better world and for a solution.

I think that a solution that we could accept is possible. It will take hard bargaining, it will take tenacious attention to details, and here's one thing I want to say finally, Mr. Chairman. I think we need to give much more attention to the issue of the process by which we accomplish these things. We have an illusion that somehow if you could get the top leaders together around the table facing each other, they can produce the document which they will then sign that will solve the problem.

That's one of the troubles with the Dayton agreement. We got the people together, we locked them up for two weeks, we browbeat them into so-called negotiating and gave them a document to sign. The document was enormously complicated and lengthy which outlined a constitution for a state and all the rest of it. We gave it to them and said: "Now you sign here and we're going out and implementing it." The Dayton agreement has flaws but it really isn't as bad as its application has turned out to be. We didn't really enforce it and we didn't carry it out in all kinds of ways.

I think we need to have a step by step process set in motion in which specialists can come forth with proposals of how these issues can be dealt with and how to involve all of the parties who must be a part of the final framing of that agreement and signing it. The idea that you can make peace by a dicta is not a viable concept of international diplomacy, it simply won't work. That is not real diplomacy nor will it produce peace and stability in the region.

The final thing is that we've got to engrain in our policy and in our actions the return of the refugees to their homes. This is the heart of the problem also in Bosnia. It is the heart of the problem if we cannot deliver on this obligation to enable people to go back to where they came from. That above everything else is what they want. Don't let anybody tell you, Henry Kissinger or anyone else, that the refugees don't want to go home, that's nonsense. And if we can't deliver that, we are bankrupt in terms of creative diplomatic ideas, and we expose our posturing of power as a hollow, hollow thing.

A TRIBUTE TO VICTOR A. KOVNER

HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1999

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my great admiration for Victor A. Kovner, a remarkable leader and citizen who this year receives the Stanley M. Isaacs Human Relations Award from the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee.

A man of high principle, piercing intelligence, and extraordinary ability, Mr. Kovner has touched countless lives in the New York area through a variety of professional and civic activities, while also promoting the cause of peace and justice throughout the world.

A senior partner with the law firm of Davis Wright Tremaine, Mr. Kovner is widely respected for his legal experience and skill, qualities evident during his service as Corporation Counsel of the City of New York, and in a wide range of other important positions such as Chair of the New York State Commission on Judicial Conduct, as well as Chair of the New York City Bar Association's Committees on the Judiciary and Communications & Media Law.

But despite this stellar professional record, it is Mr. Kovner's extra-professional accomplishments in which his character and dedication are most apparent. He has been instrumental in advancing the cause of Middle-east peace as a member of the board of Americans for Peace Now and as a leader with the Israel Policy Forum.

In the United States, Mr. Kovner has been a tireless advocate for social justice and progress. He helped found the Black-Jewish Coalition, chaired the board of Planned Parenthood, and worked to advance such important goals as artistic creativity, environmental protection, and civil liberties.

In short, Victor Kovner is a man of national and international stature, whose vision and leadership have made a material difference to many individuals—and inspired even more to demonstrate a similar devotion to social and community ideals.

I am proud to join in recognizing Mr. Kovner and confident that he will remain a leading light for many years to come.

CONGRATULATIONS TO REGGIE CROSS

HON. JULIA CARSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1999

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate and bestow much deserved recognition to Reggie Cross of Arlington High School located in my hometown of Indianapolis, Indiana.

Reggie exemplifies what it means to be a student-athlete. As a student, Reggie has satisfied the National Collegiate Athletic Association's Scholastic Aptitude Requirements and will be able to go to the college of his choice and pursue his goal of a psychology degree.

As an athlete, Reggie has excelled in both basketball and track. In basketball, Reggie helped the Arlington Knights win the city championship, and earned a spot on the city All-Star team. As Captain of the Arlington Track team, Reggie set the 400 meter record for both the North Central Sectional and the City Championship. At the State Track and Field Meet, Reggie blew away the rest of the field to win the State 400 meter championship.

I can pay no greater tribute to Reggie than his track coach, Harold Grundy did when he said "Nobody works harder than Reggie." Reggie shows us that hard work and determination are the best way for young people to achieve their dreams.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when many people are looking down at young people, we can all look to the Reggies of our communities and know that the future of America is still looking up.